

292 and their prowess gave them the means of acquiring the articles of self-
714 decoration through the admiration of their fellow tribesmen, through the
generosity of their chief, and through the acquisition of booty from de-
feated opponents in battle. The *ta'avaka*, a great radiating semicircle of
tail feathers of the tropic bird and black cock's feathers, which surmounted
the warrior's forehead above a pearl shell ornamented with applied
carved tortoise-shell (see Dress and Personal Adornments), constituted
the chief insignia of the war leader. A second article of dress, which
some informants say was exclusively restricted to war leaders (*toa*) was
the *kahu ko'oko'o* (Hiva Oa) or *kahu ku'a* (Nuku Hiva), which was
either a long robe of cloth draped on the back and hanging to the ground,
or a short mantle hanging over the shoulders and tied around the neck.
The long robe was sometimes called *kahu ma'o* (*ma'o*, full length.). The
material of this robe or mantle appears sometimes to have been the sacred
white and sometimes the red bark cloth. Porter (24, p. 84) describes
these articles of dress as follows:

They wore a cloak, sometimes of red cloth, but more frequently of a white
paper cloth, formed of the bark of a tree, thrown not inelegantly over the shoulders.

These robes were very *tapu* and were always kept in the warriors'
house. It was forbidden to step on them, they were never worn while a
man ate or smoked, a woman who put one on would die.

•[30] Large plaques of pearl-shell or of wood colored white with clay were
sometimes worn in front of the ears, standing out at right angles to the
head and held by a band that ran over the head. The large whales' teeth
ear ornaments, *hakakai*, were sometimes worn also with the broad end
standing out before the ears. Garcia (14, pp. 88-89) describes warriors
wearing great whales'-tooth collars. Melville (23, p. 83) describes a neck-
lace made of boars' tusks. The loin cloth of a warrior was of red bark
cloth and had a pendant tailpiece in which were tied many knots. Mel-
ville (23, p. 83) describes a fringed waist cloth of a warrior as follows:
"The loins of the warrior were girt about with heavy folds of a dark-
colored tappa, hanging before and behind in clusters of braided tassels."
Over the loin cloth was worn a skirt of human hair (*titi ouoho*). A shoul-
derpiece of human hair, like a boa, held together on the breast by a large
whale's tooth, was also sometimes worn on Hiva Oa—this was worn over
the *kahu ko'oko'o*. In addition, small ornaments of hair were worn on
the wrists and on the ankles. These ornaments for the ankles were fre-
quently made of feathers instead of hair. The flowing of the hair and
feathers in the wind, as the warrior ran, gave the impression of great
speed. A customary part of the ornamentation of a war leader or of any

- 291 dress. Elaborate feather pieces were the most common type of headdress. Other types were of carved tortoise shell and porpoise teeth. Ornaments made of human hair were worn by both sexes as festival dress and by warriors in war time. Elaborate ear ornaments were the style with both sexes. Necklaces were made of whales' teeth, boars' tusks, and porpoise teeth—Porter (24, p. 83) speaks of the great value of whales' teeth among the natives. Characteristic was the use of flowers for making necklaces and crowns, and as ornaments in the hair and ears. Anointing the body and head with perfumed oil, bleaching the body, and staining it with saffron were also characteristic, and tattooing, described under Rites of Childhood and Youth, was done with rare perfection.

MEN'S LOIN CLOTHS

- 291 The loin cloth of a man (*hami*) consisted of a long strip of cloth passed around the waist and between the legs, the two ends forming, respectively, a small apron in front and a tail at the back. (See Pl. II, E.)
- [552] Every part of the *hami* had its name. The end of the girdle which hung behind was called *h'ihi'i* (*hi'hi'i*), *toave*, *love'o*, or *kou'u*; the back knot, *poue*; the part which encircled the body, *iona*; and the end which formed the apron in front, *kotapu*, or *otapu* (8). The common everyday loin cloth (*hami putea*) was made of white paper-mulberry bark cloth. There were undoubtedly innumerable variations in style and mode of wearing the *hami*. The *hami poka'a* was a very large loin cloth made of white cloth. It was regarded as very stylish to have a long tail in the rear—one or many knots were tied in the tail when an extra touch was desired. *Ka-ioi* wore perfumed and dyed loin cloths called *hami pipi*. These were of cloth made of the fine white cloth that had been soaked and dyed in perfumed coconut oil in which had been mixed *ena* and *pu'u koku* (a small nut). Chief's festival loin cloths (*hami papaiha huhe*) were dyed with baked *ena* (*ena moa*). The reddish brown *hami hiapo* was made of young banyan bark and was worn only by such sacred personages as first-born sons, chiefs, and priests. A *hami hiapo*, that was presented to the Bishop Museum expedition—once the possession of a chief of Ua Pou—has tied in one corner a tooth of its former wearer as a sign of ownership. The section of this *hami* that hung down in front was cut in strips and the tail was knotted. The *hami kohito* was made of old paper-mulberry bark which was called by the specific name *kohito*. In Haka Hi this *hami* was described as being very large and worn by *tuhuka*, old men. In Taiohae it was said to have been worn by old men and to have had three strips in front and a long tail behind; and furthermore it was here said to have

291 *kahu papaki* (8). The *kahu utu* was a robe of artificially wrinkled fine white cloth, the cloth being put in water, crumpled with the hands, and then dried in the sun so that the wrinkles were fixed in it. The *kahu ho'o ho'o* was a full robe of white (*ute*) cloth made of a sheet of *topa* eighteen feet long. At Pua Ma'u I was told that it covered the whole body like a blanket, coming to the ground, and was worn by the temple assistants. Elsewhere I was told that it was worn by warriors and hung down the back to the ground; and again that it was worn by women at festivals. Warriors on Nuku Hiva wore the *kahu kw'a*, a sheet of red cloth tied around the neck in front and falling over the shoulders and back like a cape. One informant said that these were stained light red, but he probably referred to dyeing subsequent to the arrival of Europeans. The *kahu kw'a* is described by Garcia (14, p. 89) as "a piece of red cloth draped on the shoulders like a Roman mantle." The *kahu ma'o*, a full-length robe of red banyan-bark cloth worn by warriors at Pua Ma'u was probably the same as the above. How this differed from the *kahu hiapo* is uncertain.

The *kahu hiapo* was made of reddish brown bark of the young banyan tree and covered the whole body. It constituted the dress of the ceremonial priest (*tuhuna o'ono*) at Pua Ma'u. The ceremonial dress of the inspirational priest (*tow'a*) at Pua Ma'u was the *kahu kohito*, made of heavy bark of an old banyan tree. It was a full length robe covering the whole body and coming to the ground, described as being like the robe of a Catholic priest. Another ceremonial costume was the *kahu koua'ehi*, a coconut leaf or leaves worn on the body by *tuhuna* on ceremonial occasions.

MATS

It would appear from the following quotation from Krusenstern that mats were occasionally worn on the upper body by men. "Mats are sometimes used among them, and the king's son-in-law, though indeed he was the only person, always came to the ship in one of a very coarse kind, and fastened under the chin in such a manner as merely to cover the back" (16, p. 157).

ORNAMENTS MADE OF HAIR

301 Both sexes wore hair ornaments which were of two kinds, those called *pavahina*, made of white beards of old men; and those inclusively known as *ouoho* (literally head-hair) which were made of the black or brownish head hair of adults. *Pavahina* (or *pava u*) were plumelike ornaments made of the white hair of old men's beards held together at the base by sennit bindings (fig. 25, a). They were worn on the head, under the by women, but for the most part by men, both at festivals and in war. The

flowing of the long hair of the ornaments when a man moved gave the effect of swiftness. The hair was usually that of relatives. When *ouoho* were made for a sacred child its *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts), both male and female according to one informant, but only the male *pahupahu* according to another, cut off their hair for the purpose. It was taken to a *tuhuna hana titi ouoho* who wrapped it on small sticks, bound these with leaves and baked the rolls in an oven of heated stones. The curled hair was then attached to a braided band of sennit. When a chief desired *ouoho* for his child his people were called upon to supply it. Hair of enemies was also used. The different ornaments made in this way had particular names. (See fig. 25, e.) The *titi ouoho ke'i* was a small skirt of hair worn around the waist. The large neck ornament or ruff was called *titi ouoho* or *taki ouoho*. Where the two ends met on the breast a large whale's tooth was usually suspended. According to a Nuku Hiva informant this neck piece was called *hope moa* and sometimes covered the whole back. Dordillon (9) gives *titi hope* as meaning a hair ornament worn on the back, and he gives as the meaning of *hope moa*, a hair ornament worn around the waist. The wristlets were called *moputu ouoho*, *papatu ouoho*, *tope pu*, or *pos ima*. *Pos ouoho* were the small anklets of hair—these anklets were frequently made of black feathers instead of hair, and were then called *pos hu'u manu*. A generic term for these ankle ornaments was *pos vae'vae*. Dordillon (8) gives *toke ouoho* as meaning a hair ornament for the loins; and distinguishes *taki ouoho* for the neck, and *titi ouoho* for the shoulders. [301] [237]

HEADRESSES

The word *pa'e* was a generic term applied to head coverings and head-dress. Elaborate headdresses were made by *tuhuna* who specialized in the art and were paid for their work in pigs. 292

The *pa'e kea* (see fig. 24, d) was the typical festival headdress of Hiva Oa and was peculiar to that island. It was a crown made of elaborate plaques of white shell and carved tortoise-shell (*kea*, *tortoise*) bound on a band of closely woven sennit which was decorated with buttons and small plaques of pearl shells with a superimposed tortoise-shell carving. *Pa'e kaha* was the Nuku Hiva name for this crown. It is said that one of these could not be paid for with land because it was worn on the head and was therefore *tapu*: the land which was given in payment for *pa'e kea* would be likely to be trod upon by a woman, in which case the head wearing the *pa'e kea* would receive the insult. Fine *pa'e kea* were considered family rather than individual possessions, were passed on from generation to generation, and worn by different members of the family.

Mrs. Handy on Hiva Oa. Stewart gives an excellent description of this headdress. (See Descriptions of Dress by Early Writers and The Warrior's Dress). 292



FIGURE 23.—Ornaments for the head and ears: a, warrior's headpiece made of shell (*whikama*); b, woman's porpoise-tooth headdress (*pene ei*); c, ear ornament made of whale's tooth (*kakakai*); d, ear ornament carved of human bone (*taiana*); e, woman's tortoise shell ear ornament; f, carved ear-piercer.

The *uhi kans* was a large pearl-shell held in place over the forehead by a woven sennit head band. On the pearl-shell was an applied tortoise-shell design (fig. 23, a).

262 A feather headdress made by binding the neck and breast feathers of a black chicken on sennit was called *tuetue*. A braid of sennit with feathers and porpoise teeth attached to it hung down on one side, lying on the wearer's breast. Just how the *tuetue* was worn and what it looked like I do not know. What Krusenstern (16, p. 157) speaks of as a helmet in the following quotation is probably the *tuetue*. "The headdress consists either of a large helmet of black cock's feathers, or of a kind of diadem."

Aigrettes consisting of tail feathers of the tropic-bird (*tu'a*, *pa'e tu'a*) were worn above the forehead by women—according to one informant it always consisted of twelve feathers. The *pa'a* was an aigrette of the same kind, made, however, of the tail feathers of the cock.

The most common ceremonial headdress was the *pa'e koua'ehi*, consisting of a part of a green coconut leaf, placed over the front of the head so that the fronds could be brought around the head and fastened behind. What is spoken of as the *pa'e hei pepe atua*, a priest's headdress the form of which is unknown to modern informants, is probably the same as *pa'e koua'ehi*.

The temple assistants (*taputoho*) at Pua Ma'u wore on their heads turbans (*pa'e kohito*) of dark-colored cloth made of the bark of very old paper mulberry stalks pounded roughly. The cloth is said to have been wrapped around the head and tied with a knot in the back, leaving a piece hanging down behind. The *pa'e hiapo* was a turban of the same form made of banyan bark, also used as ceremonial dress.

Dordillon gives *pons ivi* as meaning a cloth or headband knotted on the forehead. Other terms referring to headbands and headcloths are *tahika*, *waka*, and *ioka*. The *pa'e koi'oho* was a band of white cloth worn around the head. Dordillon defines *teta poniu* as a head ornament made with seeds of a vine called *poniu*.

EAR ORNAMENTS

- 301 Ear ornaments, the general name for which was *okaoka*, were worn by both men and women. The more valuable types (*hakakai*, *taiana*) were among the most coveted of possessions—they were family heirlooms.

[304] The piercing of the lobe of the ear, an operation called *oka* or *tui i te pucina*, was accomplished by means of a carved tortoise-shell or bone instrument (fig. 23, f). The piercing of the ears of a chief's daughter was celebrated by a great feast. (See Rites of Childhood and Youth.)

[321] Both men and women wore *ha'akai* or *hakakai*, ear ornaments carved of whale's teeth in the form shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 23, c). The large end was worn in front of the ear. A band passing over the head

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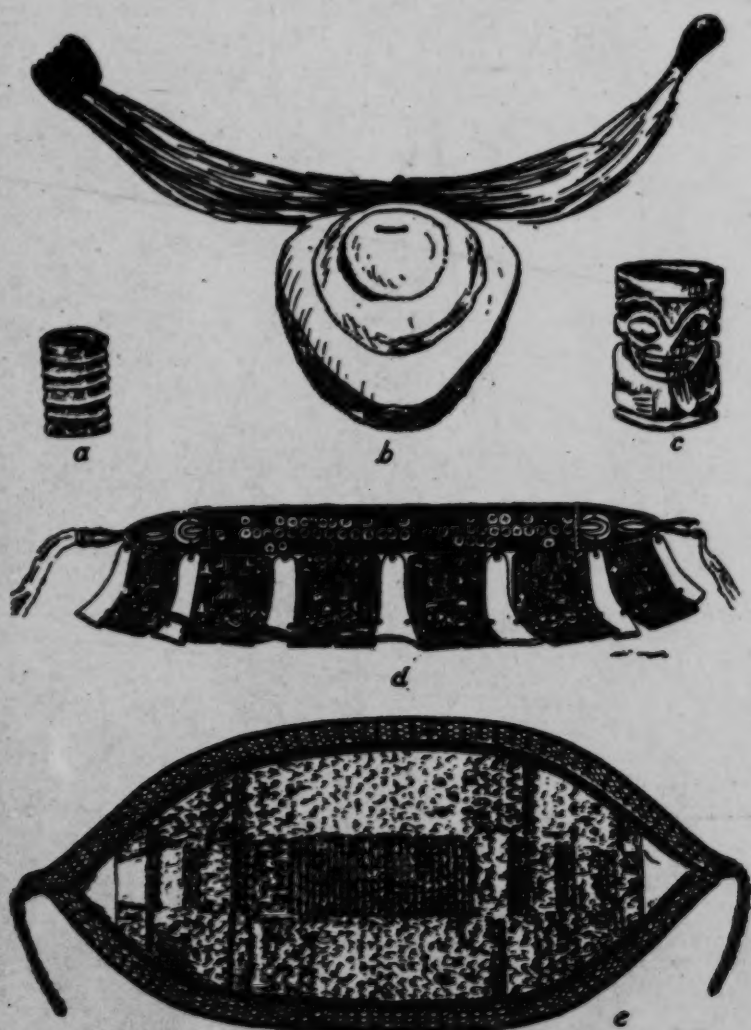
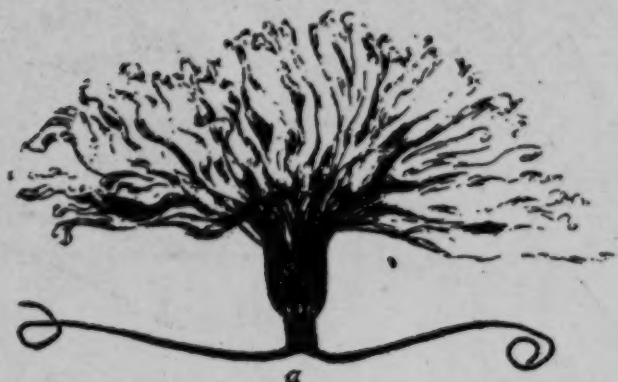


FIGURE 24.—Ornaments: *a*, bone hair ornament; *b*, pearl-shell breast piece (after Edge-Partington and Henge, Series I, 44, No. 2); *c*, bone ornament for the hair or for slings, drum cords, etc.; *d*, tortoise-shell crown from Hiva Oa (*pa's kau*); *e*, feather head-piece from Nuku Hiva (*pa's hu's*).

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292
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a

[302]



b



c



d



e



f

FIGURE 25.—Ornaments: a, ornaments made of the beard of an old man (*povo-kina*); b, gorget made of wood and seed (after Edge-Partington and Heape, Series I, 45, No. 2); c, a man's style of hair dressing called *toutika* (after Langsdorf—18, p. 119, pl. vii); d, feather ornament (*hei hu'a*); e, shoulder, waist, wrist, and ankle ornaments made of human hair (*ouoko*); f, chiefess's staff ornamented with human hair (*to'o to'o pio'o*).

held the *hakakai* in place. The ear ornaments were sometimes made of wood in imitation of the genuine type. The enormous plaques of wood whitened with clay worn on either side of the cheek, described by early visitors, would appear to be exaggerated examples of these imitations. Variant forms of the *hakakai* were the great pearl shell plaques worn before the ear (14, p. 135), and what Krusenstern (16, p. 157) describes as "large shells filled with some hard substance to which a perforated boar's tooth was fixed." 301 ●

Small ornaments (*taiana*, *taiala*, *pu taiana*) were carved out of leg or arm bones of ancestors (fig. 23, d). The carved portion projected behind the ear and the button or plug, made of shell, was in front. These were worn exclusively by women and girls, and were inherited in the female line. [321]

Another woman's ornament was the *omuo* or *komuo*, carved of hog's tusks. The button (*puu*) which held the ornament in place, consisted of the operculum of a shell fish and was worn in front of the ear. What is apparently a simple form of this is pictured by Caillot (3, Pl. LXVII). Small rolls of white cloth called *koufau* were frequently worn in the holes in the ear lobes when ornaments were not being worn, in order to keep the hole distended. No evidence was found of exaggerated enlargement of the lobe. *Tape's puina*, *tuka maka*, *tohemaka uuhe*, *pohai*, and *tumau puaika* are additional terms for ear ornaments given by Dordillon (8). Descriptive translations are not given for these but it is probable that they are variant terms for the types described above. Other terms are *haruai* and *euhe*. What was the native term for the ornament shown in figure 23, e, is unknown. This was a woman's ear ornament.

HEI

Hei, a term used for both necklaces and crowns, refers usually to those made of perishable materials. *Taki hei* are necklaces made of fragrant plants of any kind. The following list of *hei* and the natural objects used for making them is derived from Dordillon (8 and 9), Jardin (15), and from personal notes:

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- Hei fa'a ha'a*. The common yellow drupe of pandanus.
 - Hei fa'a ku'a*. Red pandanus drupe. Pandanus collors were the favorite garlands of *ha'ioi*.
 - Hei fa'a hoka*. Pineapple eyes.
 - Hei pua*. Flowers of the *pua* *Fragaria berterianus* tree.
 - Hei pitaka*. Flowers of *pitaka* (?).
 - Hei otima*. Mint family.
 - Hei etia*. A small green cucurbit.
 - Hei piva*. The blossoms of the *piva*.
 - Hei mola*. (?)

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Hei kakapa. (?)
Hei konini pa'a. *Physalis peruviana*.
Hei nano. (?)
Hei kanioka. *Cardiospermum*.
Hei tia'e. Gardenia blossoms (*Gardenia tahitensis*).
Hei meha. The bark of *Rubiaceae*.
Hei niou. Flower buds of *Stegoebeckia orientalis*.
Hei vaovao. The blossoms of *Cordia* sp.
Hei hol. *Discorea alata*.
Hei vai-uta. *Lycopodium phlegmaria*.

301 The *taevahei* was a large collar of pandanus seed that was worn hanging on the breast. *Kumu hei* were small packages of fragrant herbs worn pendant from the neck (8).

The *ei taki hei* (*taki* or *taki hei ei*) was a collar made of the teeth of the sperm whale or other fish (8). *Taki ei* on Hiva Oa referred to a single great uncarved whale's tooth worn as a pendant. The *poe ei* was a collar of small porpoise teeth (9). Krusenstern (16, p. 158) speaks of a collar of boar's teeth. *Hopekeie* and *pa'atita*, defined by Dordillon (8) as opalescent plaques, are evidently the terms for pearl-shell breast pieces described by early writers (fig. 24, b).

A type of neck ornament, or gorget, of which I have seen no specimen, is described and pictured by early visitors (fig. 25, b). Cook (6, p. 310) describes them as follows: "They wear round the neck a kind of ruff or necklace . . . made of light wood, the out and upper side covered with small red peas, which are fixed on with gum." The same ornament is described on Nuku Hiva "made of several rows of little pieces of bread-fruit wood strung together" on which were fastened red and black seeds (18, 171).

A peculiar ornament is described by Krusenstern (16, p. 158) as "balls about the size of an apple, entirely studded over with red beans," apparently worn hung from the neck.

STYLES OF HAIR DRESSING

302 The plucking out of face and body hair was a universal custom. Shark's teeth, shells and bamboo were used for shaving the head. Cook (6, p. 309) says regarding beards:

They observe different modes in trimming the beard, which is, in general, long. Some part it, and tie it in two bunches under the chin; others plait it; some wear it loose; and others quite short.

[387] This evidently refers to the beards of old men which were allowed to grow long for use in making the white hair ornaments.

berries of the *Abrus precatorius*, fastened upon the material of which it was constructed by a gum which exudes from the bread-fruit tree. The crescent formed the front of a cap fitting closely to the head behind, and the foundation in which the heavy plumage surmounting it is fixed. This plumage consisted of the long, black, and burnished tail-feathers of the cock, the finest I ever saw, those in the centre being more than two feet in length. They were arranged behind the front-piece as closely as possible, and in such a manner as to form the shape of a deeply pointed chapeau, placed crosswise on the head, the feathers in the centre standing perpendicularly, and becoming more and more vertical till the lowest at the edges drooped deeply over the shoulders. The ends, falling from the highest point above the forehead one over another in a regularly defined curve on either side, played in the air with the gracefulness of an ostrich plume, and imparted to the whole an appearance of richness and taste we had not been led to expect from any of the decorations of the country previously seen.

In their ears, and entirely concealing them, they wore ornaments of light wood whitened with pipe clay. They are perfectly flat in front, something in the shape of the natural ear, but much larger, and are fastened by running a long projection on the hind part through slits made in the ears for receiving such ornaments. Strings of whale's teeth hung around their necks, and frizzled bunches of human hair were tied around their wrists and ankles; their loins also being girt with thick tufts of the same over large maros of white tapa. Short mantles of white cloth tied in a knot on the chest, and floating gracefully in the wind from their shoulders, with long spears, completed the costume.

The same writer gives some good descriptions of ceremonial dress:

The *Tuhunas* have a distinctive dress, consisting of a cap formed from a coconut leaf [the *pa'e kou'e'hil*]. A part of the stem, six or eight inches in length, is placed perpendicularly over the forehead, and the leaflets still attached to it are passed round the head on each side, and neatly fastened together behind. Besides this article on the head, they wear a cape of the same material [the *kahu kou'e'hil*]. In this the stem is split till within an inch or two of one of the ends, it is then passed round the neck, so that the extremities rest on each shoulder, and the separated ends are tied together. The ribs running through the leaflets being taken out, they hang gracefully over the chest and back. These articles are usually worn by them on ordinary occasions, and always when in discharge of the services connected with their office (26, p. 248).

Elsewhere (26, p. 264) he describes a

messenger dressed in a large quantity of white cloth, wearing on his head a band-dean of white with bows surmounted by a mitre-shaped cap, formed of the green leaf of a banana tree. Besides the fan in his hand, he bore on his shoulder a long pole from which were suspended seven white scarfs, tied into bows at the ends, in a manner similar to those used in our own country.

For the following description of women's dress we are indebted to Porter (24, pp. 96-97):

The dress of the women is handsome, and far from being immodest; it has already been in part described, but a more minute description may not be unsatisfactory. It consists of three parts only: the head-dress, the robe, and the part worn as the petticoat: the first is called *pa'hoo* [*pa'e*], the second *kahu* [*kahu*], and

291 the third uhuwahee [?]. The *pohhee* consists of a remarkably fine and white piece
292 of paper cloth, of open texture, and much resembling a species of fine gauze, called
by us spider's web; this is put on in a very neat and tasty manner, and greatly re-
sembles a close cap. The hair is put up gracefully in a knot behind, and the head,
when dressed in this manner, bears no slight resemblance to the prevailing fashion of
the present day in America. The *cahu* consists of a long and flowing piece of paper-
cloth, of a close and strong texture, which envelops the body, extending to the
ankles, and has its upper corners tastily knotted on one shoulder, having frequently
the whole of the opposite arm, and part, and sometimes the whole, of the breast
exposed. They display many graces in the use of this part of the dress, sporting
the knot sometimes on one shoulder, and sometimes on the other, at times carefully
concealing, and at others exposing their charms. Sometimes the knot is brought
in front, when the whole bosom is exposed to view; at other times it is thrown
behind, to display a well-formed back and shoulders, or a slender waist.

Cloth head bands and turbans are described by Stewart (26, p. 230)
as follows:

White appears to be the favourite hue, especially for decorations of the head.
Their turbans are of various shapes; the most common consists of a piece of native
cloth, of the size of an ordinary pocket-handkerchief, bound closely to the head,
having the ends twisted into a large knot immediately in front or on one side over the
temple. The ends of others are longer, and formed into large puffs or cockades on
the top or sides. In some there is an opening on the crown for the hair, which, tied
closely to the head, then hangs down in ringlets in the neck and shoulders. Some
wear fillets or bandeaux only, either with or without bows or hanging ends, and many
leave their black tresses entirely unconfined and flowing carelessly over their mantles.

The following (26, pp. 235-236) are descriptions of the appearance
of festival dress:

[20] [The dress of a male dancer] consisted of a large quantity of white human hair,
worn high and much frizzled around his head, of heavy bunches of the same material,
but black, about the wrist and ankles, and of a profuse quantity of white cloth around
the loins as a maro. That of the boys was more striking and fanciful. One wore
on his head the feathered helmet and other decorations of the ear and neck of a
warrior, the cap and plumage being of a height equal to all the rest of his figure.
Above his girdle, was a full sash of white cloth, tied in a large bow with long ends
in front, and from it four white cords of platted tapa, two behind and two before, de-
scended to the knee, each terminating in monstrous tassels of black hair, fastened to
flat circular pieces of wood, whitened with pipe clay. His waist, wrists, and ankles
were also hung with the same, and in either hand he held a small tuft of white.

[30] The head-dress of the other was a bandeau of white cloth in a thick roll over the
forehead, and above this a wreath of black feathers, surmounted by a high ornament
of white tapa gathered into folds at the frontlet, and spreading above into a large
cockade in the shape of a peacock's tail, the whole having an airy and tasteful appear-
ance. His necklace was composed of alternate bunches of a brightly shining aromatic
vine and the flower of the cape jessamine, while his maro of the purest white, arranged
in neat folds, was intertwined with garlands of the same.

Handy and Winne—Marquesan Music

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TYPES OF MARQUESAN CHANTS

MEANING AND USE

For the sake of convenience, the chants of the Marquesans may be classified as follows: recreational, eulogistic, and religious. This differentiation is by no means clear-cut, for the classes overlap; thus the recreational songs were often eulogistic, and those classified as eulogistic were frequently sacred. The native would classify his chants as tapu or not tapu, depending upon the circumstances surrounding their composition and use. Those called tapu, or sacred, would be the chants composed with a definite serious purpose in view, such as recital at a feast or rite, and rehearsed and performed under restrictions of tapu; while the others would be old songs that had served their purpose and were repeated for amusement, or songs, such as the *nani*, that had no purpose other than recreation. 533^v

In their recreational singing, the joyous spirit of the natives found free expression; and yet many of these chants were by no means entirely play, for such songs as the *ru'u*, *nani*, and *tape'a* were prepared, rehearsed and performed with as much care and effort as were the more serious eulogistic and religious compositions. The choruses that sang the recreational songs and the eulogistic chants, such as the *putu* and *pipine*, that were composed in honor of a youth or maid, drew their membership from the class of adolescent boys and girls known as *ka'ioi*. Under this term were included all the youth of the tribe who, obeying their natural instincts and following the immemorial custom of their people, "ran wild" during the early years of their maturity, devoting themselves without restraint to all pleasure, and to self-adornment. The *ka'ioi* were recognizable by the excessive use of perfumed coconut oil on bodies and hair, by the dyeing of bodies and clothing with the yellow or golden stain derived from the wild ginger root, by such self-adornment as crowns and necklaces of flowers—particularly strings of the pungent, heavy-scented pandanus seeds—and by their never-ending frolics and escapades. But the play of the *ka'ioi* was not wholly unproductive. The youths did the work of erecting some of the special structures for feasts and rites, and both the male and female *ka'ioi* constituted the choruses that sang recreational songs and the eulogistic chants at festivals in honor of young persons. The Marquesans, true to the ideal of perfection which we may trace in their every activity in the old days, prepared and performed their recreational choral songs with all the thoroughness and concentration of effort that they gave to their most important religious choirs. 533^x

But there must have been a very different atmosphere about the songs

in the Pacific Ocean.

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will, however, do justice to the discovery of Mr. Ingraham, and whatever names may be given to them by English or French partizans, posterity will probably know them only as Washington's Group.

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On the morning of the 24th, discovered the island of Roaahooga (so called by the natives, but by us Adams' Island) one of the Washington Group. Its aspect, on first making it, was little better than the barren and desolate islands we had been so long among. But on our nearer approach, the fertile valleys, whose beauties were heightened by the pleasant streams and clusters of houses, and groups of natives on the hills inviting us to land, produced a contrast much to the advantage of the islands we were now about visiting. Indeed, the extreme fertility of the soil, as it appeared to us after rounding the S. E. point of the island, produced sensations we had been little accustomed to, and made us long for the fruits with which the trees appeared every where loaded.

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On rounding the S. E. part of the island, we saw a canoe coming off to the ship with eight of the natives, one of whom was seated in the bow, with his head ornamented with some yellow leaves, which at a distance we supposed to be feathers. They approached us very cautiously, and would not venture alongside until we had run very close in. But no persuasions of ours could induce them to come on board, although we offered them pieces of iron hoops, knives, fish-hooks, and other articles which we supposed them to hold in the highest estimation. We had a native of the island of Otaheita on board, who enabled them, but with apparent difficulty, to comprehend our wishes, and who gave them repeated assurances of our friendly disposition. They came under the stern, and after we had sent down to them, in a bucket made fast to a rope, several of the above articles, they sent up to us, by the same conveyance, a few fish and a part of their ornaments, consisting of a belt made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut, garnished with the small teeth of a hog, the only articles of exchange in their possession. They frequently repeated to us the word *taya*, which signifies friend, and invited us to the shore, where they assured us, by the most expressive gesticulations, that we should be made welcome. I was anxious to procure some refreshments, but more so to obtain a knowledge of a people with whom the world is so little acquainted. One of the canoes displayed a white flag: I caused a similar emblem of peace to be exhibited, and after waiting some time, perceiving that they were fearful of coming along side, I caused two boats to be manned and armed, and proceeded towards them. I soon approached them, and directed the Otaheitan to inform them that we were friendly disposed, and were willing to purchase of

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them the articles they had to sell, which consisted of hogs, plantains, bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, &c. &c.

After remaining with these people about two hours, I proceeded to a small cove, two miles to leeward, where were assembled about fifty male natives and three females. Some of the men were highly ornamented with plumes of black feathers, large gorgets similar to those we had before purchased, and a kind of cloak formed of white cloth, in appearance somewhat like paper. Each held in his hand a handsome white fan, and had large tufts of human hair bound round the wrist, their ancles and loins, with large white oval ornaments, apparently intended as false ears, and large shells and whales' teeth hung round their neck. They made altogether no inelegant appearance. They were all highly tattooed, and supposing one of the best dressed among them to be the chief, I gave him to understand that our object was trade, and that we had come with the most friendly views, showing, at the same time, fish-hooks, iron-hoops and knives, which seemed to produce a general joy among them. They informed me that their chief, whom they called Othauough had not arrived, and in a few minutes afterwards, pointed out to me an old man, who approached entirely naked, with the exception of a piece of cloth about his loins, and a small fillet of palm leaves about his temples. This they told me was their chief: and on his addressing a few words to them, they threw by their arms and ornaments, and plunged into the water to gain the boat. I gave to each a small present, but they had no article to offer in return but their women; and as two of them were not more than sixteen years of age, and both handsome, they no doubt considered them the most acceptable present they could offer us.

The men of this island are remarkably handsome; of large stature and well proportioned: they possess every variety of countenance and feature, and a great difference is observable in the colour of the skin, which for the most part is of a copper colour. But some are as fair as the generality of working white people much exposed to the sun of a warm climate. The old men (but particularly the chiefs) are entirely black. This is owing entirely to the practice of tattooing, with which they are entirely covered, and it requires a close inspection to perceive that the blackness of their skin is owing to this cause. On a minute examination, may be traced innumerable lines, curved, straight, and irregular, drawn with the utmost correctness, taste, and symmetry, and yet apparently without order, or any determined plan. The young men, the fairness of whose skin is contrasted by the ornaments of tattooing, certainly have, at first sight, a more handsome appearance than those entirely covered

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in the Pacific Ocean.

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is more to the right, and, as I before observed, lower down. I had no sooner understood that they had a chief, to whom I could address myself, than I felt anxious to see him. A messenger was therefore dispatched for him; and after collecting my people, I returned on board, where shortly after our arrival, I soon found every person anxious for the ships to be got into port and secured.

When the ships were moored, the shore was lined with the natives of both sexes; but the females were most numerous, waving their white cloaks or *caloes* for us to come on shore. Many applications were made for me to permit them to accept the invitations, and I found it impossible any longer to resist. The boats were got out, and proceeded to the shore, where, on landing they were taken complete possession of, by the women, who insisted on going to the ship, and in a short time she was completely filled by them, of all ages and descriptions, from the age of sixty years, to that of ten; some as remarkable for their beauty, as others for their ugliness. They all appeared to be of the most common kind, and many of them who had been in the habit of visiting ships, which had formerly been at this place, had been taught by the seamen, some few English words, which they pronounced too plain to be misunderstood.

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No jewel, however valuable, is half so much esteemed in Europe or America, as is a whale's tooth here. I have seen them by fits laugh and cry for joy, at the possession of one of these darling treasures. Ivory, however finely wrought and beautiful in its kind, bears no comparison in their estimation. Ivory is worn by the lower and poorer classes, made into the form of whales' teeth, and as ear ornaments, while the whales' teeth are worn only by persons of rank and wealth. Some idea may be formed of the value in which they are held by the natives, when it is known that a ship of three hundred tons burthen, may be loaded with sandal-wood at this island, at the price of ten whales' teeth of a large size. For these the natives will cut it, bring it from the distant mountains, and take it on board the ship. This cargo in China, would be worth near a million of dollars. I have seen this sandal-wood, that is so highly esteemed by the Chinese; (indeed their infatuation for it, falls little short of the natives for whales' teeth) it does not appear capable of receiving a high polish, nor is its colour agreeable. The odour arising from it is pleasant, and the principal uses to which the Chinese are said to apply it, is to burn it in their temples, and to extract from it an oil, which they consider of great value.

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I was informed that Gattanewa had arrived, and to show my respect for the chieftain, as well as to convince him of my friendly disposition, I sent him on shore a fine English sow; this being, as I was informed, the most acceptable present I could make him,

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1804. I observed instances of the prepuce being drawn forward over ²⁹¹
May. the glans and tied with a string, the ends of which hung down [304]
 about four inches. To this string much value seemed to be
 attached; for it happened that the king's brother, in coming on
 board my ship, had the misfortune to lose it, and his anxiety
 upon the occasion was extreme. As he stepped on the gang-
 way, he eagerly covered the untied part with his hands, and
 made earnest signs for a piece of rope-yarn; till he had received
 which, and restored the part to its previous state, he appeared
 as if incapable of moving from the spot where the accident
 happened.

The women are more decent, as to clothing, than the men.
 When full-dressed, they are wrapped in a kind of cloth of their
 own making, which is fastened round the waist, and then folded
 over the shoulders, so as to leave one only or both breasts un-
 covered. In general, however, nothing is hidden but the part
 which nature forbids them to expose; and so tenacious are they
 of the covering to this part, that the most salacious will not con-
 sent to take it off.

The men wear their hair in different forms. Some cut it quite ³⁰²
 close, and shave a little space upwards from behind; others
 shave half the head lengthwise, leaving the hair long on the
 other half; and others again shave off all the hair, except a tuft
 on each side, which is twisted into the shape of horns. Some
 daub themselves over with yellow paint only, and others with
 cocoa-nut oil and yellow paint mixed. They all wear ear-rings
 and necklaces. The necklaces are made of shells or wood, and ³⁰¹
 sometimes of the teeth of swine, or the porpoise: those made of ³⁰²

FROM EASTER ISLAND TO WASHINGTON ISLANDS.

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301 wood are embellished with a handsome red pea. The women 1804.
302 tie up their long hair in knots, and, on ceremonious occasions, May.

262 The food of these islanders consists chiefly of fish, swine, coconuts, plantains, bananas, bread-fruit, taro-root, and sugar-cane. The last is rather a scarce article; as also is pork, which seldom makes its appearance but on occasions of festivity. Both sexes [264] eat their meals together, except when public dinners are given in the dining-rooms, where women dare not appear, for reasons which I have before assigned.

73 In case of a bad harvest the poor suffer dreadfully, as they never lay up a sufficient stock of provisions to prevent the horrors of famine. A few years ago, numbers of them were obliged to roam among the mountains in search of what they could find, leaving their wives and children at home dying with hunger. Roberts told me, that in the bay of Tayohaia only, [266] four hundred perished on this occasion. In these times of dearth, every one was in danger, he said, of losing his life; not only for want of nourishment, but from the violence of one stronger than himself, who may seize and devour him.

266 Considering the mild temper of the inhabitants of this island, 727 it is difficult to believe that they are cannibals. Roberts, however, assured me, that the bodies of the prisoners taken in war were eaten; all but the skulls, which were preserved for trophies. We purchased several of these skulls, paying a knife for each; but neither their wearing them as trophies, nor offering them for sale, proves cannibalism: like other savages, they may cut off

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VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

139 1804.

[324] May
[313]

Cogco. This tree is used for firewood. It bears a black berry, which is mixed with a certain odoriferous root, and used for painting the skin yellow.

Tear. A tree of which all the implements of war are made, on account of its hardness.

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Fow. A tree of a middling size, from the bark of the branches of which threads for fishing-lines and nets are made.

[237]

Eooty. From the bark of this tree, the best cloth is made. The manner of manufacturing it is similar to that which has been described by several navigators, as practised in the Sandwich Islands.

[373]

Eema. The fruit of this tree answers the purpose of candles. It resembles small chestnuts, which, when peeled, stuck one upon another on a stick, and set on fire, burn in succession, and give an excellent light.

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Hiaba. A large tree, the bark of which is used for making short pieces of cloth, such as the islanders sometimes tie round the waist.

● [361]

Foa. This tree produces a very handsome fruit, pieces of which being strung together, are used, on festivals, as wreaths for the head, and ornaments for the neck.

ROOTS.

Taa. A sort of yam. Its leaves may answer the purpose of brocoli, which it resembles in taste.

Handwritten mark

Handwritten mark

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In pre-European times the head was shaved with a shark's tooth, the hair being gathered in small bunches and the tooth sawn back and forth across it at the roots. Porter (49, p. 114) says that the hair was sometimes singed off with a fire brand. As it was important that the cuttings of the hair should not fall into the hands of an enemy who might use them for malevolent magic, the hair was usually cut in the bed of a stream or on the sea shore. In Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, it was customary for the relatives of a man killed in war to let their hair grow until accounts were squared by the capture of one of the enemy. Their hair was then cut at the public assembly place, the clippings being thrown into a special pit.

Many of the Marquesan men are naturally rather heavily bearded, but practically all are clean shaven or wear only a moustache. A number of methods of arranging the beard were formerly in vogue. Krusenstern (34, pp. 158-159) says the natives of Nuku Hiva usually shaved off their beards except for a small tuft on the chin. In describing the natives of the southern islands of the Marquesas group Fleurieu (23, p. 113) says:

Those who wear their beards full length, and these are the greatest number, arrange them in different ways. The commonest is to part the beard in two tufts, shaving or plucking the chin, and letting the beard grow on either side. Many others let it all grow and separate it into locks, which they plait, or to which they attach the teeth of fish, human teeth, little pieces of bone, shells, or the colored glass beads which they get from Europeans. Some do not let the middle part grow. Finally, others shave it entirely.

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According to Handy the men usually plucked the beard, but many old men would let it grow in order to obtain hair for *parahina*, ornaments worn on the head. This was usually done for the benefit of some relative, but a man wishing to make a *parahina* might pay an old man to let his beard grow for the purpose.

Both men and women kept the hair liberally anointed with scented oil (*pani*).

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The oil was obtained by scraping the flesh of an old coconut, wringing it out in a cloth, and adding chopped-up *tiare* flowers and sandal wood, grated by rubbing a piece of the wood, preferably the root, with a rasp made from the tail of the giant ray. The mixture was stirred until the flowers had absorbed all the oil and then left in the sun for three or four days until the oil separated once more. The oil was then drained off and kept in a bamboo, a fan leaf being tied over the open end. Before use, it was diluted with plain coconut oil.

Langsdorff (38, p. 175) describes a somewhat different method of making coconut oil, although it is evident that he refers to the plain oil and not to *pani*. He says:

They scrape the kernels of a great number of coconuts, which they put upon banana leaves, and let it lie out in the sun for four or five days. They then press the oil from an equal number of fresh coconuts over the scrapings, and let it lie in the sun again for two or three days; by repeating this several times, a quantity of good oil is procured. It is kept for use in the hollow of bamboo canes.

ORNAMENTS

- 301 The Marquesans compensated for their simple costumes by the use of a great variety of ornaments, ranging from quickly made necklaces and wreaths of ferns and flowers to elaborate headdresses whose manufacture must have required months of work. Certain ornaments were worn exclusively by men or by women, but it is an interesting commentary on the position of the women that many of the most valuable could be worn by either sex. There are some indications of local differences in ornaments, but these are hard to establish at the present time.

FLOWERS, HERBS AND FRUITS

- 301 A great variety of wreaths and garlands, made from ferns and from all
824 sorts of flowers and fragrant herbs, were formerly worn by the Marquesans. This sort of decoration is now limited to wreaths worn on the hair or around the hat.

Most of these wreaths are made from plants chosen for their odor rather than their beauty. The finest are made from *Guttardia speciosa* which bears a creamy yellow tubular flower of wonderful fragrance. The calyxes of the flowers are broken off and the tubes threaded upon a string, the base of one flower entering the mouth of the next. The flowers have a peculiar property of increasing in fragrance as they wither and even when dried have a pungent perfume. At the present time the flowers of *Gardenia tahitensis* are much used for wreaths, although this plant is not native to the Marquesas. The calyxes are broken off, but are left suspended by the pistil. The corollas are then threaded. The finished wreath is a white band from which hangs a fringe of bright green calyxes.

A necklace made from the fragrant ripe fruit of pandanus [*Pandanus odoratissimus*] was formerly a favorite ornament of both men and women.

The fruit looks somewhat like small sweet peppers, with shiny surfaces, bright red at the upper end, shading to lemon yellow at the tip. They were pierced laterally and strung side by side, small ends up, so that they formed a heavy semicircular collar two to three inches wide in the center, tapering toward either end. These ornaments are especially interesting because of their resemblance to a form of wooden gorget. (See p. 429.)

ORNAMENTS MADE OF HAIR

- 301 Ornaments made from locks of human hair attached to a band of coconut fiber are highly characteristic of the Marquesan culture; nothing at all resembling them seems to have been used elsewhere in Oceania. Although these ornaments vary in size according to the part of the body on which they were to be worn, the technique is always the same.

The band to which the locks were attached was composed of a number of strands of twisted coconut fiber, which were plaited around two heavy longitudinal cords. The method of plaiting was such that at first glance the band seemed to consist of two half-inch ropes, tightly twisted in opposite directions, and fastened side by side. (See Pl. LXXVI, A.) The hair was made up into a number of small locks which were attached to the

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hands separately. These locks were made as follows: A long tress was wrapped at the center with a few turns of fine sennit. It was then doubled back upon itself, and the wrapping continued upward, so that the hair was enclosed in a fiber sleeve about half an inch long. The lock was thus reinforced with sennit at the inner end and terminated in a loop. The separate locks were attached to the band by means of strands of fiber which were separated from one of the cords of the plait, passed through the loop, and twisted into the cord again. The processes of twisting the cords, attaching the locks of hair, and plaiting the band must have been carried on simultaneously, an arrangement which called for a remarkable degree of skill on the part of the workman. 301

Hair ornaments were made by a special *tuhuna*, who also made feather-work. When an ornament was made for a child the hair was donated by its mother's brothers and father's sisters. For a chief's child all the men in the tribe contributed hair. According to Handy, the hair of revenge victims was also used. The hair was curled, apparently after it had been made up into locks, by wrapping it tightly around small sticks, doing these up in green leaves, and baking them in an earth oven.

Hair ornaments were worn by both men and women on festive occasions.

A complete costume consisted of a large shoulder ornament, one or two waist ornaments, bands on the wrists and above the elbow, and bands on the ankles and just below the knee. The shoulder ornament was worn like an European boa, the longest part resting in the middle of the back while the ends were tied together on the breast and held down by a whale's tooth or other ornament. The waist pieces were worn over the *hami* (loin cloth). When there was only one, it was placed in the rear, like a bustle, when two, one was worn in front and one behind. Plate LXXVI, *A* shows a shoulder ornament; *D*, a waist or shoulder ornament and *E*, a wrist band. The only knee ornament seen was of long wavy hair, like the waist ornament.

Handy gives the following native names for these ornaments: *titi ouoho*, shoulder ornament; *titi ouoho kei*, waist ornament; *poi ina*, arm ornaments; *motutu ouoho*, wrist ornaments; *poi vaivai*, leg ornaments.

BELTS AND ANKLE ORNAMENTS

Edge-Partington (20, p. 48) figures a belt of seven parallel rows of bird bone beads, strung on sennit. Some of the beads are decorated with diagonal incised lines. 301 237

In Hiva Oa, at least, bands of feather work were sometimes worn around the ankles in place of hair ornaments. No examples of these have been preserved and the information about them is unsatisfactory. They are said to have been made of short black roosters' feathers attached to a broad fiber band. To judge from other feather ornaments they were probably laid on overlapping and pasted to the base.

FINGER ORNAMENTS

Ornaments made from the long tail feathers of the tropic bird were worn by male and female dancers on the second finger of both hands. The ornament

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- 301 237 was made by wrapping the lower ends of the feathers with sennit or inserting them in a short bone cylinder. A sennit loop attached to the ornament was slipped over the finger. (See Pl. LXXVI, C.) Dordillon translates the word *kihi* as "ornament of white bea for the fingers." True finger rings seem to have been unknown in ancient times.

BRACELETS AND ARM ORNAMENTS

- 301 [921] The Marquesan shell bracelets are of considerable interest in view of the wide distribution of such ornaments in Melanesia and their comparative rarity in Polynesia. Two examples are shown on Plate LXXVI, B. The broader of these is made from the end of a large *Conus* shell of some sort and is rather crudely finished. The narrower has apparently been ground from *Tridacna* shell, and is unusually well made. As *Tridacna* shells of suitable size are lacking or at least very rare in the Marquesas it seems probable that this bracelet was an importation.

In the Peabody Museum at Salem are some very interesting wrist ornaments which were collected during the early nineteenth century. They are of types which have been forgotten by the present natives and the locality in which they were obtained is unknown. Two of these ornaments (Pl. LXXVI, F) are made from large blue black seeds, about the size of a small grape, which are attached to a band of plaited coconut fiber identical with that used for hair ornaments. Each seed is punctured at the stem end and attached to a cord of twisted fiber, which is held in place by a small wooden plug. The other ends of these cords are plaited into the band.

- [824] A still more showy wrist ornament is composed of strings of *Abrus precatorius* seeds. The fiber base is like that used in the ornaments just described, but the seeds are pierced and strung on loops of fine cord whose ends are woven into the band. (Pl. LXXVI, G.)

NECKLACES

Necklaces made of a great number of strands of braided human hair were formerly worn by men in the Marquesas. These necklaces, called by Dordillon *takiouho*, are rare, but there is a very fine specimen in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge and four less perfect ones are in the Peabody Museum at Salem. (See Pl. LXXVII, 1, A.) In one specimen (2) the strands of hair seem to have run around the neck continuously; in the others the strands were made into a thick bundle with the ends wrapped with many turns of fine sennit or human hair string. One end of specimen No. 1 is wrapped in such a way that it forms a compact blunt point and the other end is finished with a sort of corrugated cylinder large enough to admit this point. When worn, the pointed end was evi-

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dently thrust through the loop and held on the outside with a pin of some sort. Edge-Partington (20, p. 44) shows a specimen with ends finished in this way which has three shell pendants of graduated size. Necklaces with both ends finished alike were tied behind the neck with strings of twisted tapa. (See Nos. 3, 4.) A polished pearl shell was usually suspended from the center of the necklace. 301 ●

Edge-Partington (20, p. 67) figures a hair girdle from Niue which closely resembles these Marquesan necklaces. A necklace of similar form from the Ellice Islands is now in the American Museum of Natural History, and the National Museum has a series of necklaces from Penrhyn Island which differ from the Marquesan forms only in minor details of the finishing of the ends. All these ornaments are obviously similar to the Hawaiian hair necklaces which with a whale ivory hook formed the insignia of chiefly rank.

Necklaces other than those of hair cord seem formerly to have been worn principally by women. They were made from porpoise teeth, shells, or seeds and in later times of European glass beads. The teeth used were perforated as near the bottom of the root as possible, and strung on threads of pineapple fiber. Bead necklaces were usually made of a double strand of beads which was looped back and forth as in chain stitching. The ends of the necklace were tied together at the back of the neck. Combinations of beads and teeth, or of beads and shells, seem to have been rather common. (See Pl. LXXVII, B.)

GORGETS AND BREAST ORNAMENTS

The Marquesans used a great variety of gorgets and breast ornaments, most, if not all, of which were worn by the men. The most valued of these was the *ei*, or whale's tooth (Pl. LXXVIII, A) some of which at least had a religious significance. As the Marquesans did not catch whales the supply of teeth must have been far below the demand. Porter says that a schooner load of sandal wood could be bought with ten large teeth. Whales' teeth worn as ornaments were drilled transversely near the tip of the root, and were commonly ground at this end, to make them thinner and easier to perforate. In view of their skill in ivory carving it is rather curious that the natives seem not to have carved or shaped these teeth. The tooth was sometimes attached to the ends of a hair ornament worn on the shoulders, serving to weight it down and hold it in position. Most of the specimens seen, however, were attached to ropes of twisted coconut fiber covered with white tapa.

Plaques of large pearl shells were formerly used in the Marquesas, but very few examples have survived.

In making the plaque the shell was ground to a more or less regular outline and the colored outer layers removed except for a narrow band around the edge. This band was dec-

- 301 orated with a series of closely spaced notches which in one specimen (Pl. LXXVIII, B) gives
 321 the edge of the shell a toothed appearance. Along the upper margin two or more holes for
 suspension were made. Shell plaques of this sort seem to have been intended primarily for
 wear with the necklaces of plaited hair.

Plaques ground from the large end of a species of *Conus* shell were also used as breast ornaments, but they seem to have been much less common than those of pearl shell.

These plaques were smoothly ground on both sides, the marks of the whorls being almost obliterated. A hole for suspension was drilled near one edge; a few plaques have two holes, drilled opposite each other. These plaques appear to have been worn suspended from necklaces, but no complete specimens were seen. Their occurrence in the Marquesas is of considerable ethnological interest as such ornaments are rare or lacking in other parts of Polynesia but are highly developed in Micronesia.

- 301 Two curious objects of featherwork, one in the Peabody Museum at Salem,
 327 the other in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, are probably to be classed as
 gorgets. (See Pl. LXXXVIII, C, 1.)

These gorgets are made from glossy black cocks' feathers cut to length, those on the upper edge being quite short and those on the lower edge measuring three inches or more. The feathers are laid on in regular overlapping tiers, beginning at one end of the crescent. The exact method of attachment could not be determined, but the feathers seem to have been pasted to a pad of tapa or other soft material in rows and further reinforced by single strands of banana fiber wrapped around the base of each row. The suspension cords are of plaited fau bark. The attachment of the cord at one end is covered by the natural slope of the feathers; the other end is concealed by a sleeve of fine sennit decorated with human hair cord applied in a wrap weave. At the bottom of this sleeve are traces of a band of green and yellow feathers. The dimensions are: length across tips, $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches; maximum width, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches; thickness, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

- 301 An ornament of large seeds, now in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge,
 should probably be classed as a gorget, although its construction suggests that of
 the hair ornaments. The seeds are black and as large as grapes. They are per-
 forated at the stem end and attached to cords of twisted coconut fiber by the
 method used for seed armlets. They differ, however, in having two seeds at-
 tached side by side to the end of each strand. These strands are attached to
 a band identical with that used in hair ornaments. To either end of this band
 are fastened long cords of twisted fau bark.

- The most characteristic of the Marquesan breast ornaments are the large
 [824] collars, or gorgets, made from light wood and encrusted with the seeds of the
Abrus precatorius. One of relatively simple form is shown on Plate LXXVIII,
 C, 2. The base of this ornament is a crescent of soft light wood, cut in a single
 piece. One side of this crescent was coated with soft breadfruit gum, then covered
 with the shiny red and black *Abrus* seeds. Along either side of the en-
 crusted space are glued flat ribbons plaited from strings of white tapa and
 blackened fau bark. The ends of these ribbons are plaited together to form the

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cords for attachment. It is possible that this specimen is a head ornament rather than a gorget, as a somewhat similar ornament is said to have been worn with the great headdress of cocks' feathers. 301

Plate LXXVIII, C, Nos. 3 and 4, shows two gorgets of more ordinary type. They are composed of a number of sections of light wood strung together by cords running through lateral holes. The cords are concealed except at the ends, where they are braided together to form the tying strings. The usual number of cords seems to be two, but a gorget in the Cambridge Museum has three. Each section of the gorget has a thick inner end and a thin outer end, but the proportions of these parts are variable. In the specimens figured the outer ends are short and flat, but in other gorgets the ends are considerably longer than the thick portion and slope upward toward the outside so that the collar looks dished. In a few gorgets the edges of the collar are cut into tongues or rays. The assembled collars are so rigid as to indicate that the sections were glued together. The incrustation was limited to the thin outer part of the collar. The thick part was whitened with lime or clay.

It is rather curious that the Marquesans should have made a rigid collar of many sections when it would have been much easier to cut it in a single piece. The most plausible explanation for its composite construction seems to be that the idea was borrowed from the necklaces of pandanus fruit which had much the same shape. Krusenstern (34, 156-158) says such collars were the peculiar mark of a priest.

So far as known, seed incrustated ornaments are found only in Polynesia in the Marquesas and Cook Islands. Outside of Polynesia they appear to have been made only in Australia and northern New Guinea.

Necklaces and breast ornaments differing from any of those described are mentioned by some of the early visitors. Langsdorff (38, pp. 170-171) says:

"Hogs' fangs or pieces of bone, or muscle shells of a particular kind strung together in rows with the threads of the coconut, are very common as necklaces." Fleureau (23, p. 114) says: "Some are content to carry, hanging from their necks, small pieces of polished bone, of shell, or of white coral or stone which are carved in different figures but which for the most part imitate a large tooth." He also remarks (p. 120) that the women wore collars or necklaces made of black seeds mixed with little shells. Desgraz (15, p. 283) says that small tiki figures of human bones were worn around the neck as amulets. Krusenstern (34, pp. 156-159) says:

"Another sort of gorget is made entirely of boars' teeth fastened onto a band, woven with the fibers of the coconut, and they also wear single boars' teeth, either suspended from their necks, or fastened to their beards, and balls about the size of an apple entirely covered with red beams."

A drawing reproduced by Cook (14, p. 310) shows a string gorget of unusual form, which seems to be made of a great number of short cords doubled over a longitudinal rope. The cords are gathered into bundles just below this rope, the ends hanging free in a deep fringe.

● 301

According to Handy (32) collars of pearl, called *pipiri*, were sometimes placed with a body at burial, and three types of headdress, the *taavaha*, *paekua*, and *hei kua* were sometimes worn around the neck or on the breast.

EAR ORNAMENTS FOR WOMEN

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A pair of ear ornaments of rare type are illustrated in Plate LXXIX, A, 1, 3. The "S" shaped body of these ornaments is made of a narrow strip of tortoise shell which was softened by heat and bent into shape. At about a third of its length the strip is perforated for the attachment of an ornament composed of porpoise teeth and beads. The teeth are somewhat smaller than those usually used for crowns, but like them are strung on loops of coconut fiber. The beads are, of course, of European manufacture. The long projecting end of the strip was thrust through the lobe of the ear, the body of the ornament hanging below with the toothed portion to the rear. These ornaments were used by women.

The object shown on Plate LXXIX, A, 2, may be classed as a woman's ear ornament. Its construction is essentially the same as that of the ornaments just described, but the strip is replaced by a large black seed which has apparently been oiled and polished. The method of wearing this ornament is unknown, but it seems probable that the seed and bead tassel were worn in front of the ear with the teeth behind.

The commonest form of woman's ear ornament, called *taiana* is shown at the bottom of Plate LXXIX, B.

The *taiana* is made of two pieces, a cap and a body. The cap, called *puia*, is made from some white shell, probably *Tridacna*, and has on the inner side a cylindrical cavity about one-fourth of an inch deep. The sides of this cavity are lined with a thin layer of pith or soft wood. The body consists of a thin strip of human bone whose inner end is finished with a short cylindrical shank. The tip of this shank is cut to accurately fit the cavity in the cap. The rest of the body is decorated with highly conventionalized human figures. A large figure with extended arms is represented in profile at either end, and between these, two smaller figures, shown in front view. The heads of these small figures are supported by the hands of the end figures, while their legs appear at the bottom. Their bodies are not represented. The two ornaments shown at the top of the plate differ considerably from this normal type, but the basic concept is probably the same as the four heads are still recognizable. The inner sides of the ornaments are left rough. The elaborate piercing used in working out the designs is especially interesting as this technique seems not to have been employed in any other Marquesan objects. Ornaments of this sort were worn with carved portion projecting horizontally behind the ear, the cap, which was fitted on the shank, resting against the front of the ear lobe.

The bone of which they were made is said to have been obtained from dead relatives, not, as was the usual practice, from revenge victims. The figures represent ancestors, one of the large figures being male and the other female. Such ornaments were highly prized, and were inherited in the female line.

According to an informant in Fatu Hiva women sometimes wore ornaments similar to the *taiana*, but made from a boar's tusk instead of human bone. Early writers make little or no reference to women's ear ornaments, although they describe those of the men in considerable detail.

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EAR ORNAMENTS FOR MEN

The most highly prized of the men's ear ornaments were the *ha'akai* (Dor-dillon, 17). 301 321

Ha'akai were made from whale ivory in the form of a thick disc from whose rear surface a spur projected. The disc portion was oval, with a flat or slightly rounded outer surface, and was undecorated except for two broad shallow grooves around the edge. The spur was placed near one end of the oval, and was usually made in one piece with the disc. In the specimen shown on the left (Plate LXXIX, C), the spur is made from a separate piece of ivory, its base fitting accurately into a cavity in the disc. It is held in place by small plugs of wood and ivory which pass through holes drilled diagonally through both disc and spur. The ends of these plugs are cut flush with the surface of the disc and it is evident that the attachment was permanent. One or two small tiki figures in high relief are carved on the sides of the spur, and in some plugs there is an additional figure at the tip. A hole, parallel to the long axis of the disc, was usually drilled through the spur near its base.

The ornaments were worn with the discs in front of the ear, the spurs passing through holes in the ear lobes and projecting behind. A small wooden plug, thrust through the hole near the base of the spur, kept the ornament in position. The weight of some discs was supported by a band which passed across the top of the head.

Several other types of men's ear ornaments are described by early writers. Stewart (59, pp. 248-249) says: 301

In their ears, and entirely concealing them, they wore ornaments of light wood whitened with pipe clay. They are perfectly flat in front, something in the shape of the natural ear, but much larger, and are fastened by running a long projection on the hind part through slits made in the ears for receiving such ornaments.

A portrait of a chief wearing ear ornaments of this type is shown by Cook (14, p. 306). In this figure the discs appear to be in the form of long ovals of rather irregular outline.

An object which probably formed part of an ear ornament of this general type was obtained from a burial cave in Hanamenu, Hiva Oa. It is an oval disc of light wood about $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch thick. In the center there is a small perforation which may have served for the attachment of a spur. Both sides are smoothly finished, and the edge is cut in such a way as to leave a flange on what was probably the outer side.

Krusenstern (34, pp. 157-158) says of the natives of Nuku Hiva:

They adorn their ears with large white muscles of a circular form, filled with a hard substance like sand, to which a perforated boar's tusk is affixed for the purpose of fastening it to the ear; a small wooden plug passes through the tooth, serving as a clasp to prevent its falling out.

Langsdorff (38, pp. 170-171) says: "A muscle shell of an ounce weight, to which is fastened the fang of a hog somewhat polished, or a light oval piece of breadfruit wood, is the great ear ornament," and Fleuriu (23, p. 114) makes the observation that, "although both men and women have their ears pierced none were seen who habitually wore pendants."

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EAR. ORNAMENTS WORN BY MEN OR WOMEN

- 301 The pair of very simple ear ornaments shown on Plate LXXIX, *D* are made from heavy white shell, probably the lip of the *Tridacna*. One end is carved in imitation of the caps on women's ear ornaments of the *taiana* type. The remainder of the ornament is a simple spur, which, in one specimen, is perforated about midway between the base of the large end and the tip. It has been suggested that these objects were used to keep open freshly perforated holes in the ears.

A number of ear ornaments which appear to be intermediate between the *taiana* and *haakai* types have been preserved. Certain specimens in the American Museum of Natural History are shaped and carved like the spurs of the *haakai*, but are provided at the forward ends with shell caps identical with those used on the *taiana*. A specimen in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University resembles still more closely the spur of a *haakai*. It is made of whale ivory, and has a tiki figure in high relief carved on one side and two smaller figures on the tip. The inner end is blunt and irregular, but there are no indications that it has ever been attached to a disc. It was probably fitted with a shell cap. A specimen in the American Museum of Natural History seems to be a modification of the *haakai* type, but is made from shell. The forward end is worked into a disc considerably larger than the usual shell cap, while the spur is carved with a tiki figure in high relief.

COMPARISON

- 301 The only Marquesan ear ornament for which there is any parallel in the Pacific is that made from tortoise shell, porpoise teeth and beads. This ornament bears some slight resemblance to those worn on the Island of Yap, of which Furness (74, p. 62) says:

[This] ear ornament is a piece of thin tortoise shell, about a third of an inch wide, bent in the form of a "U"; this is hooked in the lobe of the ear and from the outer ends are suspended little strings of beads.

The more typical Marquesan ornaments of bone, shell and ivory are unlike those used in any other part of Oceania, and must be considered as a local development. The peculiar practice of placing the most highly decorated part of the ornament behind the ear, where it can be seen only on side view, is almost unique.

HEADADDRESSES

- 292 A great variety of headdresses were used by the Marquesans. In Nuku
237 Hiva at least the most important of these appears to have been a crest of black cocks' plumes, called *taavaha* or *taavaha pepano* (Handy). A well preserved

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the name of the man whose beard was used, even when the *parahina* is several generations old. In spite of the surprising whiteness of the hair in some of these ornaments no method of artificial bleaching seems to have been employed. In almost every specimen there are a few black hairs sprinkled among the white, and rarely tresses of entirely black hair are included.

As may be seen from the illustration (Pl. LXXXII, E.) the *parahina* was made up from a great number of locks of hair.

To make one of these locks a long tress of hair was doubled over to form a loop through which a very fine cord of twisted coconut fiber was passed. The loop was then wrapped with a single strand of fiber. The two ends of the cord passing through the loop were twisted together to form a single heavier cord. The tresses, with their attached cords, were then gathered into bundles of from ten to thirty, the ends of the cords in each bundle being fastened together and wrapped with sennit in the same way that the individual tresses were wrapped. A sennit cord, heavier than the cords running to the tresses, was attached to the lower end of the bundle. To complete the ornament, from four to ten of these bundles were placed side by side in two parallel rows, and sewn together with single strands of fiber. The cords depending from the bundles were plaited together to form a flat pad, one-half to three-quarters of an inch long, through the lower edge of which passed a long cord which served for the attachment of the ornament. The method of attaching the *parahina* to the *peu ei*, and its appearance when in position, are shown on Plate LXXXII, A.

Black dyed sennit, or even cords of human hair, were sometimes used instead of ordinary sennit for wrapping the bundles. A crudely made *parahina*, in which the technique differs somewhat from that described, is shown on Plate LXXXII, F.

The pad and bundle wrappings of the *parahina* were sometimes whitened with lime or clay, and the ornaments are said to have been laid out in the dew for a few nights before a fete to clean and whiten them.

Parahina appear to have sometimes been worn on the body or limbs with or in place of the hair ornaments described on p. 424. A photograph of an old Nuku Hiva man in full dress shows a half circle of them worn around the chin as a false beard.

Dordillon gives two terms of considerable interest—*pac mamane*, which he translates "helmet," and *pac veinehae*, which he translates "mask." The existence of these terms appears to be the only evidence for the occurrence of either helmets or masks in the Marquesas.

Dordillon also gives three words for comb: *kofen*, *pahen* and *pachu*. No Marquesan combs are preserved in American collections, and there are no indications that combs ever formed part of the Marquesan headdress. If they were used in prehistoric times they were probably toilet articles, not ornaments.

Carved bone tubes were sometimes attached to locks of hair as ornaments. These were identical with those used on the fiber handles of containers and on the cords of large drums.

- 301 The tubes were of two types, the simpler of which is shown on Plate LXXXIII, A. These simple tubes were made from sections of the smaller human long bones—that is, the radius, ulna and fibula. The spongy interior of the bone was cut out, and the hard surface was decorated with a series of transverse grooves. The tubes range in diameter from $\frac{3}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch, and in length from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Tiki figures of human bone, used either as hair ornaments or handle decorations are shown on Plate LXXXIII, B. All the specimens examined were made from sections of the shaft of the humerus or femur. In those of the femur the anterior surface of the bone served as the back of the figure, the linea aspera being used as a center line in carving the features. As a result of this, most of the specimens are asymmetrical. Only heads and bodies are represented, and the heads are disproportionately large. The features are conventionalized in the usual Marquesan fashion. The arms are abbreviated, and the hands are shown either on each side of the body, or with the right hand to the mouth—poses common in other Marquesan carvings. The example shown at the extreme right of the plate is unique in having the right hand resting on the right shoulder. These tiki figures are considerably larger than the simple bone tubes, with a length of $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches and a diameter of 1 to $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

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Memoirs Bernice P. Bishop Museum

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COMPARATIVE TABLE MATERIAL CULTURE—Continued

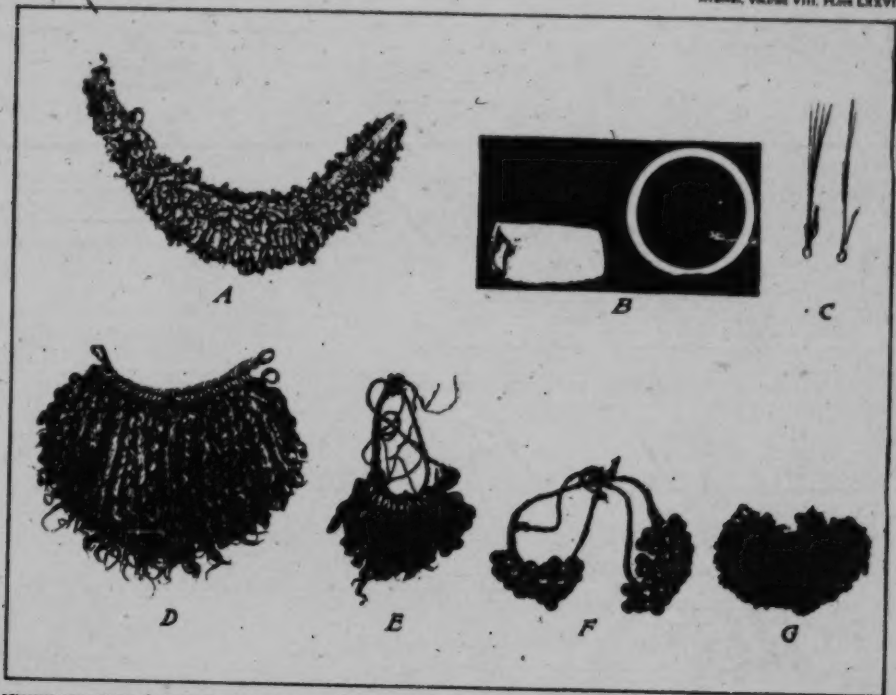
DRESS AND ORNAMENT

	MARQUESAS	NEW ZEALAND	HAWAII	SOCIETY ISLANDS	SAOEA	TONGA
Tattooing	Men completely tattooed; women on legs, arms and lips	Men tattooed on face and thighs, body tattoo rare; women on lips and chin	Men sometimes completely tattooed except face	Men tattooed on body and face but not on face; women on lower leg and arms, also a girl's	Men tattooed about to knees; women on arms and legs	Like Samoa
Tapa making	Some, hollow wooden and split wooden awells; square and round beaters, removes but no water marks	Obsolete, no data on manufacture	Hollow wooden awell, square and round beater, beaters with water marks or grooves	Hollow wooden awell; square beater with water marks on one or two sides, other sides grooved	Smooth log, not hollowed, square beater, grooved on three sides, no water marks	Like Samoa
Tapa decoration	Dyed yellow		Painted, stamped with bamboo stamps or flowers (rare)	Free hand painting, stamped with flowers or leaves	Free hand painting and painting over carved black	Free hand painting and painting over carved black
Feather work	Feathers pasted on hats; no feather cloaks	Feathers caught into woven fabric; feather cloaks important	Feathers caught into netted fabric; feather cloaks important	Feathers caught into netted fabric; no feather cloaks	Woven in edges of fine mats	No hats
Necklaces of many strands of beaded hats	Important	Not used	Important, part of chief's insignia	Turban of many strands of beaded hats, no necklaces	Not used	Not used
Fans	Highly decorated, carried by chiefs	No data	Highly decorated fans sometimes used by chiefs	Elaborate but not ceremonial	Elaborate but not ceremonial	Elaborate but not ceremonial
Pls flag	Not used	Not used	Elaborately decorated feather flags part of chief's insignia	Elaborately carried, ceremonial (?)	Carried by speaker chiefs	Common, ceremonial (?)

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[End plate 37]

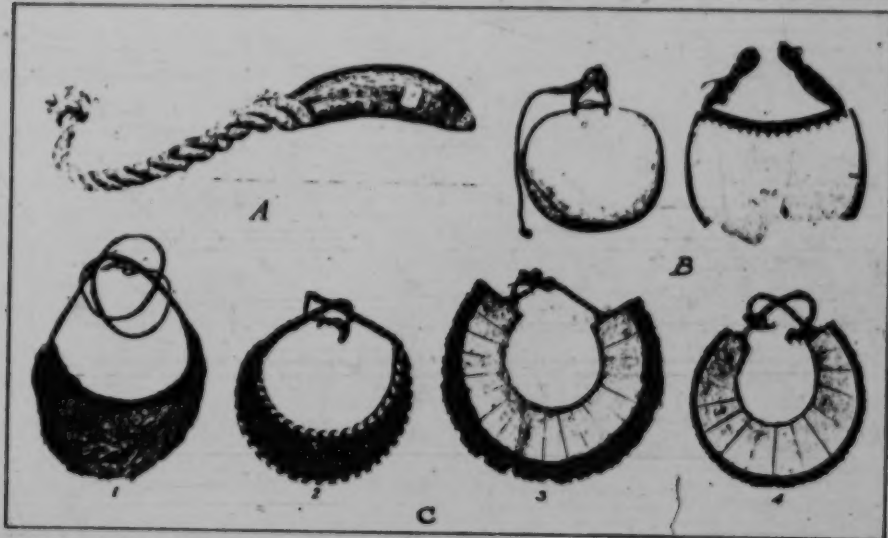


PERSONAL ORNAMENTS: A, SHOULDER ORNAMENT OF HAIR; B, SHELL BRACELETS; C, FINGER ORNAMENTS OR TROPIC BIRD FEATHERS; D, ORNAMENT OF HAIR FOR WAIST OR HIP; E, ORNAMENT OF HAIR FOR THE NECK; F, WAIST ORNAMENTS OF LARGE BEADS; G, WAIST ORNAMENT OF AMBO. (C, D, G, PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM.)



PERSONAL ORNAMENTS: A, NECKLACE OF PLATED IRON; B, NECKLACE OF PORCINE TEETH AND BEADS.

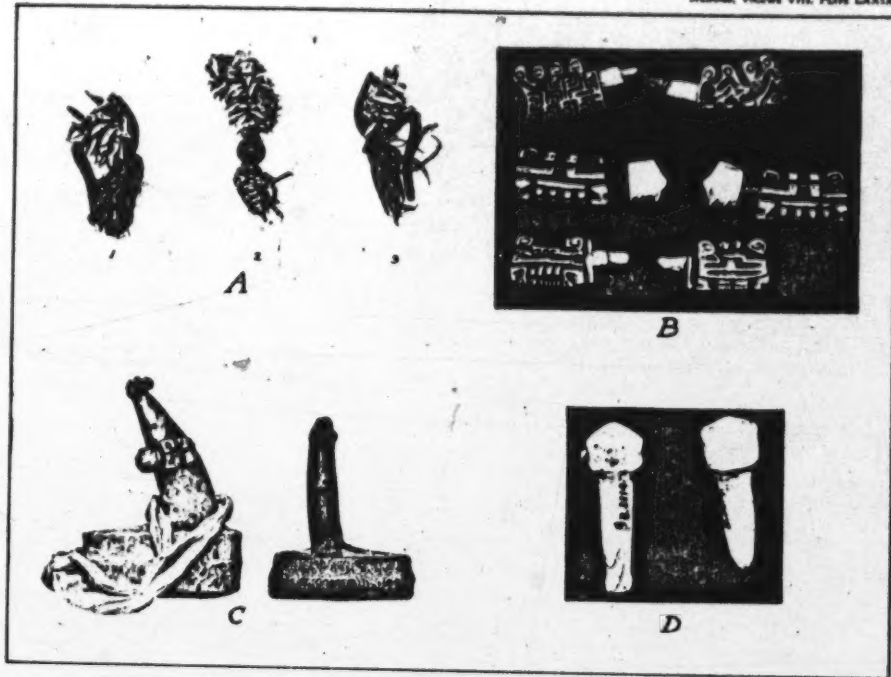
[end plate 38]



PERSONAL ORNAMENTS: A, WHALE'S TUSK; B, GREAT ORNAMENTS OF PEARL SHELL, THE ONE ON THE RIGHT ATTACHED TO A SHINY NECKLACE OF BRAIDED HAIR (PRINCE OF WALEA); C, ORNAMENTS OF VARIOUS TYPES (PRINCE OF WALEA).

[end plate 39]

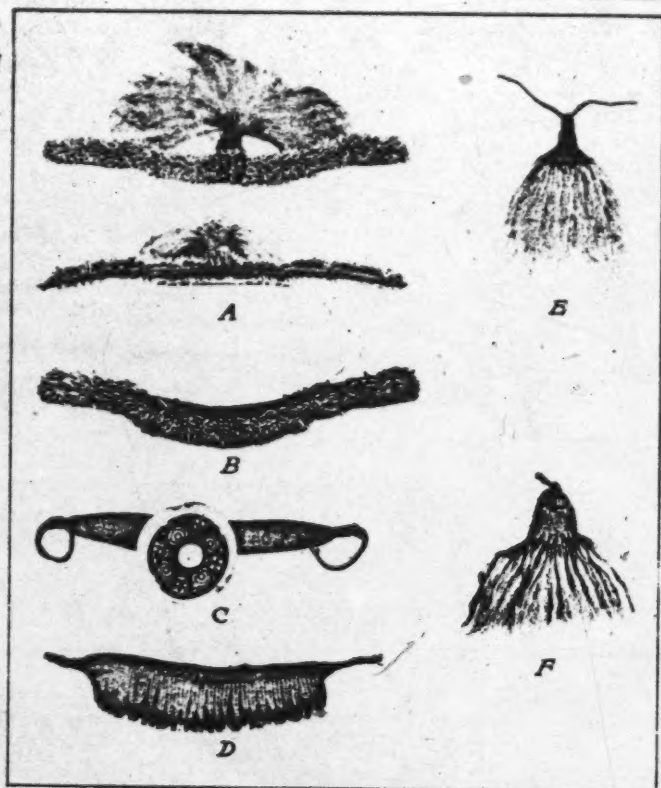
[end plate 40]



EAR ORNAMENTS: A and B, ORNAMENTS USED BY WOMEN; C, ORNAMENTS USED BY MEN; D, ORNAMENTS OF SIMPLY FORM.

HARVEY P. PEARSON MUSEUM

MARSHALL, VIRGEE VIII. PLATE LXXXIII

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NUMERICAL: A, PUE TI, ORNAMENT OF PORPOISE TEETH WITH PAVAHINA ORNAMENT OF WHITE BEARD ATTACHED; FRONT AND REAR VIEWS; B, PUE TI MADE OF PIECES OF HUMAN BONE IN IMITATION OF TEETH; C, UHIRANA, HEAD ORNAMENT OF PEARL AND TORTOISE SHELL, FRONT VIEW (PEARSON MUSEUM, SALEM); D, HEAD-BAND OF BRAIDED COCONUT FIBER (PEARSON MUSEUM, SALEM); E AND F, PAVAHINA. (F, PEARSON MUSEUM, SALEM).

[end plate 43]

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A



B

HAIR ORNAMENTS: A. TUBES OF HUMAN BONE; B. CARVED TUBES OF HUMAN BONE.

[end plate 44]

*
[304] Chants for women do not seem to be general. At some time during the operation, the *opou* was given a new name, referred to as *patiki*. This was taken from some personal defect of his own, such as a blind eye, for example, or from some imaginary peculiarity of the genital organs of his father or mother.

*
[304] The operation, as may be imagined, was extremely painful and the patient cried and screamed without restraint. Berchon notes that after each sitting, there were from eight to twelve days of local inflammation, followed by fever and sometimes swellings, which were at times fatal. Light inflammation and swelling and ulcers lasting for several days (6, p. 132; 11, p. 110; 10, p. 118) seem to have been usually the most serious results of the rigorous treatment. The juice of the banana stem was used as an ointment (*paku*) to hasten healing. Berchon says an emollient of hibiscus leaves was applied to relieve the inflammation.

*
[304] The duration of the operation depended largely upon the fortitude and health of the patient. A Nuku Hiva man is reported to have been completely covered in three days; the legs and back of one man of Hana-menu were done in seven days; but as a rule the designs were put on in more leisurely fashion, a section of the body being covered at a sitting, with three-day rest periods called days of blood (*a toto*) after each, so that the operation covered from two weeks to four months. Under such conditions a woman's lips and shoulder might be decorated in a day, a man's legs from knees to ankles, or perhaps his thighs and buttocks. Langsdorff says that the first sitting usually lasted from three to four weeks and that only the groundwork of the principal figures upon the breast, arms, back, and thighs, was laid the first year, additions, however, being made for years at intervals of from three to six months.

*
[824] After the operation, fruits of noni (*Morinda citrifolia*) the most usual healing agent, were offered at the *me'ae* or sacred place; the *tuhuna* was paid; and, when the *tapu* was lifted, the sacred *oho'au tiki* was burned (though not the common house of women); and all those participating in the operation, who had not been allowed to bathe during the entire time,

[302] now went first to the sea to bathe, afterwards to the river. This accomplished, they covered themselves with fragrant ointment, which turned the skin yellow so that their new patterns showed brilliantly. Meanwhile,

● [301] relatives had prepared such ornaments as tortoise-shell crowns, girdles of tapa, feather head ornaments, earrings, and the like. These they left outside their houses on the night before the festival (*Ko'ina tuhi tiki*; *Ko'ina*, feast; *tuhi*, show; *tiki*, design), which was always given to celebrate the completion of the work, and the newly decorated girls and boys donned them before their appearance on the paved floor of the

352 entire rear half of the houses, which were often fifty or sixty
 513 feet long, was given up to the beds. The bed had a foundation
 of springy brush, cocoanut fronds, ferns, and layers of grass, on
 top of which were placed woven mats. A polished cocoanut log
 running the entire length of the house served as a pillow. These
 beds were softer than many European beds, and the natives
 loafed on them when they had nothing else to do. They also
 352 built sloping back-rests on the stone house platforms so that
 they could sit there in comfort and watch everything that went
 on up and down the street. Clothing was unnecessary in this
 [301] climate, but the Marquesans made elaborate ornaments for
 festival wear.

517 An ambitious, skillful man could use the leisure periods be-
 tween harvests to create a surplus through craftsmanship or
 pig tending. However, if one was not ambitious, one could
 spend his leisure time loafing, singing, playing musical instru-
 ments or games, and, even to a considerable degree, in sexual
 play.

ATTITUDE TOWARD OBJECTS

552 There was an amazing degree of individualization of objects
 778 among the Marquesans, everything being personified. Just as
 each individual was a distinct entity in his tribe, so every axe
 or food bowl or canoe was also a distinct entity and had a name.
 The same names were given to objects as to people, the names
 for weapons being taken from ancestral names of the owner's
 family. All canoes were given names, and a house not only went
 through the process of creation, but was hung with a loin cloth
 so that it would be decently clad when occupied.

It is difficult to say just how much the natives actually be-
 lieved in this personification of objects. A properly made object
 [778] achieved greater prestige value with use. A club which had
 killed three or four men had a tremendous amount of *mana*;
 the more *mana*, the greater the distinction of the weapon. The
 [523] people had a sense for heirlooms; old objects which had been
 handed down had more value than new ones, even though the
 New ones boasted finer carving.

✓ 852 service in donating the child. He was supposed to eat the entire pig himself. The relatives closest to the child, that is, the father's sisters and the mother's brothers, had their hair cut [301] at this time, the shorn locks being made into a set of ornaments, [302] a shoulder cape or a kilt, decorations for knees, ankles, elbows, and wrists. The fully equipped male in full regalia looked somewhat like a poodle. The hair was handled by professional curlers, being wound on tubes, wrapped in fibre, and baked. [305] The child did not wear these ornaments during infancy. For [291] special state occasions before the age of puberty, the heir would be dressed and decorated, but, ordinarily, children of both sexes went nude.

597 Adoption was extremely common even in ancient times. That of first-born children, as a method of fusing family lines and avoiding competition, has already been mentioned, but younger children were also adopted into younger child status. Such children were often asked for before they were born and the request could not be refused without causing serious insult and possibly a blood feud. The child was usually transferred to its new household at the age of two to four months and its real parents were expected to make the adoptive parents a substantial gift to cover the expense of rearing it. Such a transfer would terminate the nursing period. Many women are said to have objected strongly to this practice and it is one of the reasons ascribed for the dropping birth rate during the early 842 period of European contact. The natives could control birth through their knowledge of perversions and mechanical abortion and women were often unwilling to go through the trouble of producing children when they knew that these would be taken away from them. Since the rearing of children was largely [855] in the hands of men, the effect of this custom was to emphasize [562] still more strongly the role of women as sexual objects, minimizing the importance of their reproductive functions.

853 The Marquesans believe that nursing makes a child hard to raise and not properly submissive. There was probably a certain amount of nursing, dependent upon the will of the mother,

WAR

721 Wars were constantly being waged between tribes. One of the principal incentives to warfare was the need for captives for human sacrifice. Human sacrifices were demanded by the gods and were also necessary for the deification of dead chiefs and inspirational priests. Another cause for war was blood revenge, for whenever a member of the tribe was captured or killed, his relatives had to avenge him.

The economic motive in war was not of great importance. Since most of the wars were in the nature of rapid raids carried on along the borders, the invaders did not actually get into the territory of the other tribe and therefore neither carried off a substantial amount of goods nor drove the enemies off their land. However, in individual fighting, the victorious warrior 727 was permitted to claim the weapons and ornaments of his victim and also, if possible, to carry off the body of the dead enemy 301 to be eaten. In such an event the head was kept as a trophy and the warrior usually took the name of the man he had killed. These skulls were carefully prepared, and were worn at the belt at dances and on war parade. Hands of victims were also sometimes dried and worn as waist ornaments. If a warrior acquired too many skulls to be worn conveniently in this fashion, he would cut them up and wear only a section of each. If the victim was a woman, the warrior might not keep the skull, but he would cut off the genitals, dry them, and wear them attached to a lock of his hair. The long bones were kept and utilized for ornaments, decorative handles for food vessels, etc.

726 When engaged in formal war, the men lived in a special house which was taboo to women. They were allowed no relations 722 with women at this time, since abstinence was believed to increase their fighting power. The women were also subject to taboos at this time; they had to sleep in the grandstands of the assembly place; they could not light a fire, bathe, or let down their hair; they could eat with their husbands only on the morning before the men went to battle. The younger women followed the army and cheered from the background, rejoicing over captives.